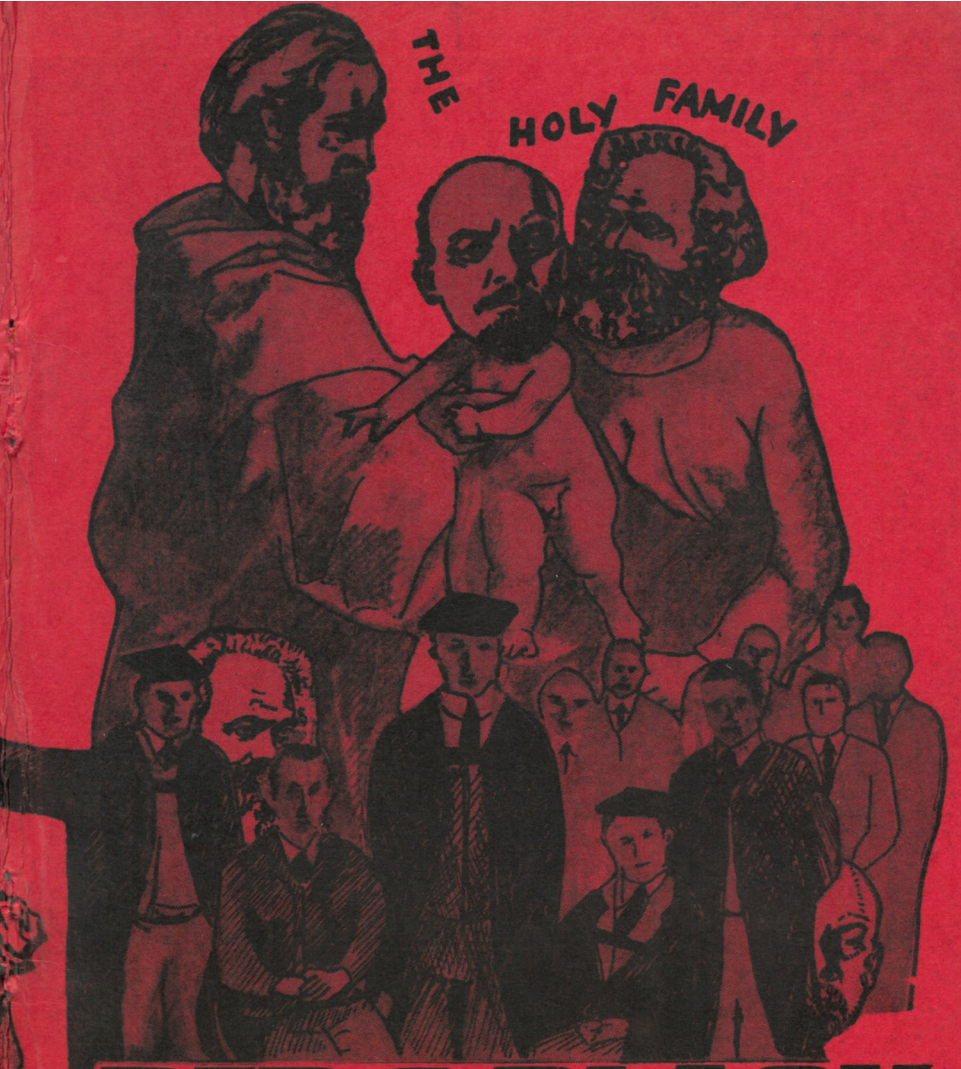


# RED & BLACK

## an anarchist journal

## no 9

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# MARXIST-LENINISM
# Vehicle of Capitalism

Rosa Luxemburg, referring to the Russian Marxists, stated: " It is interesting to observe that Russian Marxists are developing more strongly into ideological champions of capitalism(1)." Her prophecy has been verified by the events that followed When in power, Marxist-Leninists in historical and pragmatic terms, have proven the veracity of Luxemburg's statement. It is equally applicable to non-Russian Marxists, such as Euro-Communists and Social Democrats who, without scruples, are also openly assuming the role of champions of capitalism.

Naturally some Marxist scholars will question and even object to the thrust of the foregoing statements, despite the fact that "Russian society, like Eastern European societies, China, etc. is an asymmetrical and antagonistically divided society -or, in traditional terms, a 'class society' (2)." These objections are based on the ahistoricity of the historical method of social analysis. Used as a tool to dissect bourgeois reality and thus prove its bankruptcy, it is denied the same status in relation to Marxist-Leninist historical reality, which, in socialist terms, is the greatest ideological fraud perpetrated in the 20th century.

On the other hand, it may be justly argued, that the socialist scholars, bearers of the classless order, have a vested interest as a new class in obscuring and manipulating issues, in falsifying history, suppressing evidence and deceiving for their own benefit. To err is human, but when this is combined with the vanguardist role, the spirit of elitism and the urge to dominate, it becomes a concpiracy of scholars, conscious or unconscious, to minimize the evils of Marxist-Leninist bureaucratic capitalism and to present it as an attractive alternative to western style capitalism.

Whatever the case, Marxism-Leninism is a capitalist oriented movement. "The enslavement of the workers at the workplace is not merely an important or secondary 'defect' of the system, nor merely a deplorable and inhuman trait. Both, on the most concrete as well as on the philosophical level, it denounces alienation as the essence of the Russian regime. Strictly in terms of the labour process, the Russian working class is just as subject to a 'wage' relation as any other working class. The workers have control of neither the means not the product of their labour, nor of their own activity as workers. They 'sell' their time,

their vital forces and their life to the bureaucracy, which desposes of them according to its interests. The constant effort of the bureaucracy is to increase as much as possible returns on labour, while at the same time decreasing its renumerations - and this by the same methods used in the West. (3)." This is true of the Soviet Union as well as China and other communist countries.

What makes Marxism-Leninism a bourgeois movement? Many factors but basically they can be reduced to three: 1) acceptance of the State - a bourgeois institution- as vehicle of social transformation; 2) emphasis on centralization at all possible levels: economic, political and social and 3) related to the first and the second, the hierarchical mode of organisation and its preservation as a social reality.

The State is the acme of the concentration of political power. The centralization of political power in the hands of the State is a bourgeois theory. The bourgeois economists, such as Turgel, Quesney, Letronne and others, saw in the State an institution whose function was to mould the spirit of its citizens and to provide ideas and sentiments useful and necessary for the society, the bourgeois society. At the same time the State has to fight against and suppress all ideas and sentiments contrary to its essence and its reality. A bourgeois dream turned into a nightmare by Marxist - Leninists.

The socialist State is superior to the bourgeois State. It is another form of bureaucratic capitalism. "The Russian regime is an integral part of the world system of contemporary domination. With the United States and China, it is one of the three pillars. In colaboration with the others, it controls and guarantees the preservation of the status quo on a global scale (4)." Thus to look at the socialist State as threat to capitalism is to sound a false alarm. Socialism enthroned in power is capitalism. In the Marxist-Leninist society the managers of capital are converted into socialist managers, the technologists and intellectuals into bureaucrats and apparatchiks, the trade unions into appendages of the State and the workers into slaves without rights and voice but a lot of duties. Once the means of production and distribution are a State monopoly, slavery is absolute. There are no alternatives.

Centralization, one of the many streams in Marxist thought, follows from the theory of the polarization of class struggle. "Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat (5)." The Proletariat, according to the Marxist pattern of thinking, inevitably, necessary and in the final analysis, will become the dominant class. In power, the Proletariat will continue the bourgeois process of cemtralization and production, reversing it to its own benefit. "The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State i. e of the proletariat organized as the ruling class, and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible (6)." In

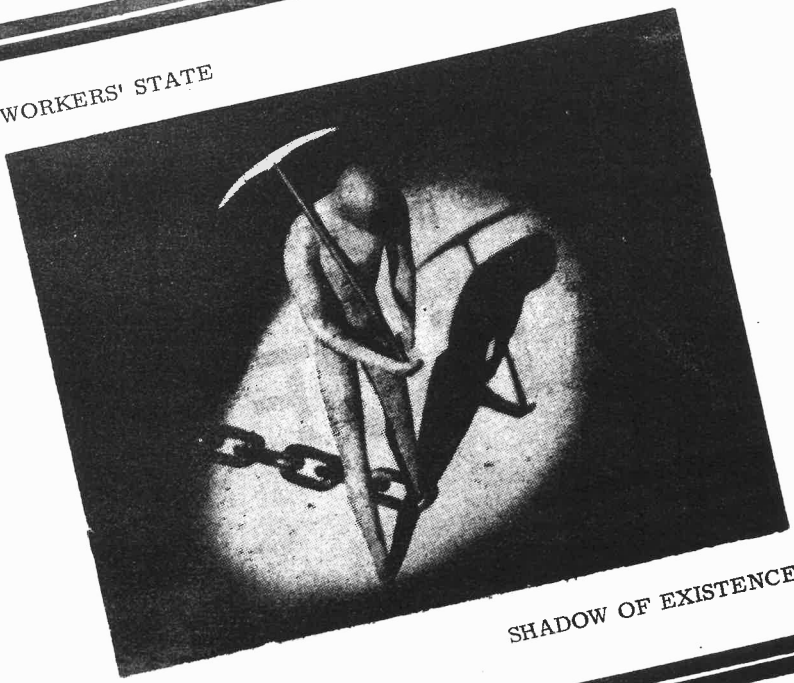
practical terms the outcome of this economic interpretation of history ended in the modern monstrocity: State bureaucratic capitalism. "From a strictly productive and economic standpoint, technological evolution, the organization of production and the concentration of capital, entail the elimination of 'independent' individual capitalists and the emergence of a bureaucratic stratum that organizes the labour of thousands of workers into gigantic enterprises, assumes the effective management of these enterprises and controls the incessant modifications of the means and methods of production (7)."

Since each mode of production corresponds to definite social relations within the frame work of capitalism, Marxist-Leninists distinguish various stages of capitalist development. Some of them are laissez-faire capitalism, monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The latter, according to Lenin, "is the eve of Social Revolution of the proletariat (8)," and definitely proves "the truth of the teaching of Karl Marx in concentration (9)." It proves the truth of concentration of power and capital in the socialist State but it does not prove the advent of socialism and of the classless society. On the contrary, the concentration of capital and the centralization of power in the hands of the Marxist-Leninists State proves the greatest victory of monopoly capitalism a prelude to socialist imperialism. But socialist imperialism is not a step nearer to socialism and the classless society. "Thus what they retain of Marx is only the metaphysical and deterministic account of history: there is supposed to be a predetermined stage in the history of mankind, socialism, as the necessary sequel to capitalism. But socialism is not a necessary stage of history. It is the historical project of a new institution of society whose content is direct self-government, collective management and direction by all humans of all aspects of their social life, and explicit self-institution of society (10)."

Economic concentration and centralization of power lead to a heavy bureaucratization of life and a rigid, hierarchically structured society. Hierarchy is the matrix of the authoritarian social order. It divides people into categories: masters and slaves, order-giving and order-obeying, husbands and wives, parents and children, intellectuals and workers, apparatchiks and citizens etc. Divided, atomized, alienated and unable to communicate with each other, people are easily manipulated and governed. The old adage of the Roman ruling class "divide and rule", summarizes the function of hierarchy. Cleverly used by the bourgeoisie, it has been perfected as a weapon by the Marxist-Leninist Princes to create a society of emotional and intellectual eunuchs and a society based on sado-masochistic relationships which are necessary prerequisites for political, economic and personal enslavements.

Being a rigid hierarchy, Marxist-Leninist society is definitely a class society: "Deprived of political, civil and union rights, forced into 'unions' that are mere appendages of the State, the Party, and the K.G.B. subject to a regime of internal passports and work papers under per-

WORKERS' STATE



SHADOW OF EXISTENCE

manent police control and surveillance in the workplace and outside of it: constantly harassed by omnipresent official propaganda, the Russian working class is subjected to totalitarian oppression and control, mental and psychic expropriation that very clearly outdoes fascist and Nazi models and has not been surpassed anywhere except in Maoist China, (11)." Thus Marxist -Leninist society is but an extension of the bourgeoisie into its infra-red form. This bourgeoisie, despite the fact that it does not own the means of production, rips off the surplus value. It is in its interest to preserve, by all means, the capitalist mode of production and to save capitalism. This is true not only within socialist countries but in western capitalism too.

In the uprising in France as well as in Czechoslovakia who "favoured and produced the return to normality in the factories and in the streets? Well, in both cases the communists: in Paris thanks to the unions, in Prague thanks to the Red Army (12)." In Italy, in the Hot Autumn of 1969-70, when capitalism was seriously challenged by the workers, the communist party stood up for the State and the status quo.

Marxist Leninism is the state's stage of monopoly capitalism. Monopoly capitalism,the Leninist will argue, "has grown out of colonial policy(12)." Yet, paradoxical as it may sound, state socialism has grown our of colonial policy. In the first place, the party is the colonizer and the workers - the colonies; in the second, the biggest state absorbs and economically exploits the small ones, e.g. Russia and its Satelites. The order is colonial too: the summit, the center, the bureaucracy are essential structural features to which the subalterns are workers, peasants and provinces. The socialist monopoly can be represented as an octopus whose head is in Moscow, or for that matter in Peking, while its tenticles are in the factories, in the fields, in the provinces, in the small states sapping the energy of the workers and peoples and suffocating any attempts at self-determination, self-assertion and independence. This makes the Marxist-Leninist State the zenith of monopoly capitalism, because the unity of economic exploitation and political enslavement is achieved. The words Lenin uttered against monopoly capitalism: "striving for domination instead of striving for liberty (13)", are a proper description of socialist capitalism. Once monopoly capitalism and the state merge into state monopoly capitalism, capitalism becomes more virulent, aggressive and expansionary and reaches the final stage, if there is a final stage, imperialism, which is "the exploitation of small nations by a handful of the richest and most powerful nations (14)." What an ironical indictment of Lenin is the state Lenin has created.

Now, if Marxist-Leninist Statist monopoly capitalism is a perfection over its bourgeois counterpart then, it follows, Leninist imperialism is rather more perfect and atrocious form of oppression and exploitation . It is not accidental that the multi-nationals find it profitable to pump millions of dollars into the socialist economic system to ensure its blood

circulation. State socialist economies are reliable and pay secure dividends.

In conclusion it may be stated that Marxism-Leninism, far from being a revolutionary science, is a reaction against the revolution and especially against the Social Revolution, leveller of all class distinctions and privileges. The success of Marxism lies in its ability to create illusions in the heads of its followers, which affirm rather than refute its bourgeois essence as a movement. Marxism-Leninism does not make the world safe for socialism but it definitely makes it safe for capitalism. Not only is Marxism-Leninism a vehicle of capitalism, it is the saviour of capitalism, it is capitalism par excellence. It does not engender revolution, it sprinkles rose oil for smooth capitalist exploitation.

Jack the A.

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# From Domela to Provo- Anarchism in the Netherlands

It is not surprising that anarchism has played a relatively more important part in the Netherlands than in other Western European countries. After all, the republic of the United Provinces was remarkable in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for great provincial independence and their traditional dislike of centralized authority was a favourable feeding-ground for the anarchist emphasis on voluntary cooperation among small communities. In the earliest phase of the Dutch labour movement (about 1850-1880) a majority of their leaders in the First International voted for Bakunin's federalism, against the centralism of Marx. The development of Anarchism in the Netherlands is, inseparable from the appearance of Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, a former radical-liberal preacher, and this should not be an astonishment. The Calvinist character of the earlier Republic, and later of the Monarchy, was similarly a suitable feeding-ground for anarchism because freedom and individual responsibility were central postulates.

So it has come about that anarchism in the Netherlands, from Domela to Provo, has been preponderantly ethical and individualist in tendency in contrast to the course of anarchism in such Catholic lands as Spain, Italy and France.

Industrialization, which first came to the Netherlands late last century and continued into this century, was dominated by trades and small businesses. The emergent workers' movement of which the Sociaal-Democratische Bond (Social-democratic league-SDB) was the exponent found as much support among the land-workers of the North as among the paupers in the West. So it was, that, in 1888, the electorate of the Schoterland district in the south-east corner of Friesland returned Domela- the first Socialist to enter the Second Chamber. Although Domela showed great activity as an M. P. his parliamentary work gave him no satisfaction. This period (1888-1894), he was later to write, has been the most unpleasant years of his life. Never strongly attracted by parliamentarianism, Domela now revealed himself as ever more opposed to it. He warned that parliamentarianism must end in "corruption, empty talk and bribery". He put forward a motion, accepted by the SDB, that they "do not believe in the gradual evolution of existing society towards socialism but in the overthrow of the social order by any means at hand, whether lawful or unlawful, peaceful or violent".

In 1883 the SDB decided to take no part in the elections. As a result the supporters of parliamentarianism formed the "Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiderpactis (The Social Democratic Workers Party SDAP) and went their own separate way.

## The Free Socialists

After the break with authoritarian socialism, as Domela now called parliamentary social democracy, the "apostle of the workers" developed in an ever more anarchistic direction. He left the Sociaalistenbond, as the SD was coming to be called, and withdrew from the editorial staff of "Recht voor Allen", s Social-Democratic periodical he had founded himself. From this time he propagated free or anti-authoritarian socialism in his new sheet "De Vrije Socialist" of which the first number appeared in April, 1898.

Closely related to the SDB was the "Nationaal Arbeids Secretariaat (The National Labour Secretariat-NAS), which originated in 1893 as a centre for the various organizations. The NAS became strongly influ - enced by syndicalism, a predominant trend in French and Spanish workers' movements of the time, which demanded the realization of socialism by means of a general strike. Local workers organisations or syndicates had a two-fold function, according to the syndicalists: on the one hand they were the instrument of the workers in the class struggle; on the other, the organizational basis of a society in which the means of production should be socialized. The syndicalists saw the (spontaneous) strike as the most fitting means to bring the working class to revolutionary consciousness. With its independent, anti-parliamentarian-socialist bias, the NAS could count on the sympathy and support of most of the free socialists. This became evident in 1903 when the Amsterdam railway-workers spontaneously laid down their tools. A committee formed by the SDAP, NAS and the Free Socialists therupon called for a general transport strike, which, however, miscarried due to the hesitations of the Social Democrats. The gulf between syndicalists , NAS and Social Democrats became yet wider when the latter set up their own trade-union organization, the "Nederlands Verbond Van Verenigingen" to which the NAS lost members. The failure of the railway strike ended all hopes of anarchism becoming a mass movement. Despite the great respect for Domela among the workers, the significance of free socialism was limited from this time on.

Although Domela emphatically describes himself as a social-anarchist and was certainly no "spontaneist" or anarchist individualist, his ideas of political organization had propelled the Free Socialist into isolation from which they no longer knew how to emerge. Domela rejected a strong national organization of anarchists. When, in 1907, a libertarian interna - tional came into being, he warned that this was the first step along a dangerous road. Domela saw the NAS merely as a workers' federation not as did the syndicalists, a schooling for anarchist society too. The Free Socialists diverted their activities to social and cultural movements for

DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS

emancipation, like the free-thinkers' organization "De Dageraad" (The Dawn) and especially the "Internationale Anti-militaristische vereniging" (IANV), The International Anti-militarist Union.

Founded in 1904, The Dawn was fiercely opposed to capitalism and colonialism. It propagated mass refusal of military service and urged the general strike as an anti-war weapon. It insisted that, "in the class war acts of violence were not always to be evaded or condemned".

## The Tolstoyans.

In fact the war against militarism (not one man, nor one cent) was the glue holding the anarchists and syndicalists together. For the Christian- anarchists, followers of the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, were also staunchly anti-militarists but stressed passive resistence and personal refusal to serve. Tolstoy, at the end of the last century, persued an extreme asceticism. In his attacks on Church, State, and violence ("the State is the rule of evil, supported by brute violence"), Tolstoy was close to the anarchists but in his principles of Love, Patience, Humility and Forgiveness, the Russian Count remained a Christian apostle.

In 1896, a man of Middelburg refused military service and Tolstoy responded to this first anti-militarist action with the pamphlet The End is Nigh. It wasn't, of course, but Christian-anarchism, as Tolstoy propagated it, so appealed to certain religious circles that shortly afterwards the first number of the periodical Vrede (Peace) appeared. Felix Ortt was the moving force behind this paper, which was, significantly subtitled "organ for the discussion of the practice of Love'. "Love", wrote Ortt "is forgetting oneself, seeking not for personal happiness either temporarily on earth or in the hereafter but to find eternal happiness by giving oneself to the service of others". Only through love, said the Tolstoyins, might a socialist society be built; and in the Gooise Blaricum, they were already trying to bring such a community into being. The colony, in which these christian-anarchist intellectuals grew vegetables and baked their own bread, was doomed to a short life. Mutual quarrels and a hostile village population made an end of it in a few years.

The Christian-anarchists had not much influence on the workers' movement. Their ideals of non-violence and of fraternization among social classes was too far removed from the daily life of the working class. The influence of Tolstoy on the rise of the peace movement in the Netherlands should not be under-rated, though it is remarkable that the response to his pupil Ghandi was still greater. Tolstoy's humanitarian idealism left traces in the anarchist movement too. Anarchism in the Netherlands has always been strongly ethical and pacifist in character; many elements of asceticism and nature-mysticism still endure in it today. There is a clear relationship between Tolstoyanism, the religious anarchism of the 20's and the 30's and the recent Provo and Kabouter movements.

## The Russian Revolution

No event has left behind so many traumas in the anarchist movement as the Russian Revolution of 1917. For a short time it seemed that the revolutionary left would be re-united and enter a new historical epoch. The original enthusiasm of the anarchists quickly gave way to mixed feelings. A few weeks after Lenin's seizure of power, Domela wrote "As soon as the people allow the cause to be taken out of their hands, it is lost. It does not predispose us in the (Soviet) regimes' favour because it has recourse to the same methods as all other governments". If De Vrije Socialist was from the beginning critical of the Bolsheviks its attitude moved to open enmity when Russian anarchists were suppressed. Nevertheless, the Free Socialists had sufficient political insight to support the "Hands off Russian" slogan when the Soviet Republic was attacked on several fronts by the great powers.

The social-anarchists showed much solidarity with Soviet Russia. Their principal organ was the newspaper De Toekomst (The Future). They resigned themselves to the temporary dictatorship of the proletariat, because, in their opinion, anarchism had otherwise no chance of succeeding, or, as one of them Jan Postma formulated it: "If one takes up the premise of the class struggle then one must not only support the seizing and holding of power now but also during and after the revolution". The acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat became confused, however, with the acceptance of the dictatorship of the "proletarian party" and in the course of the 1920's some of the social-anarchists joined "Vijnkoop's' Communist Party.

This conflict of minds also revealed itself within the NAS. Revolutions in eastern Europe had awakened revolutionary hopes elsewhere and the militant NAS benefited proportionately much more than the IWW. In 1920, the Syndicalists numbured about 50,000 members but this following was certainly not all consciously syndicalist or anarchist. Some, indeed, had come from the Communist Party. Within the NAS, Bolsheviks and anti-Bolsheviks stood opposed. When the executive proposed affiliation with the Moscow-directed "Rode Vakbonds Internationale" (Red Trades Union International) they met great opposition from anarchist and syndicalists. The latter wanted affiliation with the syndicalist International Workingmen's Association. This fundamental antithesis seemed unbridgeable, so, in 1923 the libertarians left the NAS and formed the "Nederlands Syndicalistisch Vakverbond" (NSV0.

## The Religious Anarchists

The anti-militarist movement responded fiercly to the outbreak of the first World War. Free socialists and syndicalists, together with Tolstoyans and Christian-socialists called for a "war against war". One result of the anti-militarist unanimity was that, during and shortly after the war, anti-militarists of Cnristian origin joined the IAMV and by so doing changed the character of that organization. Anti-militarism based on class conflict gave way before a pacifism which stressed ethical as-

repudiated violence as a means to freedom. Such economic weapons as the strike and the boycott should make violence redundant. The IAMV turned indeed against all organized violence and so also against Soviet-Russian militarism (opposing "Lay down Arms" to "We want Arms"). For all that, the antimilitarists of 1921 did not advocate absolute non-violence, organized in the "Never Another War" movement and in PACO (an Esperanto word for peace) around Kees Boeke, therefore refused to merge with the IAMV, though this did not prevent good relations between the groups.

During these years conscientious objection was becoming an ever more important part of anti-militarist activities. Several conscientious objectors of anarchist sympathies were imprisoned. Of these the best known was Herman Groenendaal. Just after his arrest in 1921 he began a hunger-strike, as an appeal to the workers. The IAMV, NAS and several other left-wing organizations demanded his release. There were vehement protests and even strikes. The established order struck back hard. Anti-militarists Bart de Ligt and Albert De Jong were prosecuted for incitement and Groenendaal was sentenced to the then usual ten months solitary con - finement.

Groenendaal's hunger strike had not been wholly in vain. In 1923 a law was enacted enabling those men opposed to violence on principle to plead conscientious objection. Of course, as De Vrije Socialist rightly observed, it made no difference for the political anti-militarist. Bart De Light, the philosopher of culture, had a great influence on the development of anti-militarism in the 20's and 30's. Originally a Christian-socialist clergyman, during the first World War he had found himself sympathetic to anarchism and in 1920 together with such kindred spirits as the jurist Clara Meijer-Wichmann and the Tolstoyan Ortt, founded the Bond Van Religieuse Anarcho-Communisten (BRAC). BRAC now became the refuge of many ethical and pacifist anarchists who had, to be sure, lost their Christian faith but not their religiously- inspired idealism. BRAC looked upon socialism as "the beginning of a new cultural community life rooted in a consciousness of cosmic unity and solidarity, enabling the possibility of the true development of each individual". Religious anarchists strongly stressed the object and method of every social struggle as being entirely the self-emancipation of the individual. "Each must be his own Messiah" as De Light tersely expressed it.

Much concern was devoted to all aspects of the phenomenon of "war". In the periodical Bevrijdin (Emancipation), closely connected with BRAC (and continuing after 1931 under the name Bond Van Anarcho-Socialisten) many articles appeared on this subject, in which expert use was made of the findings of the new sciences of sociology and psychology. Without question Bevrijdin was the best anarchist periodical of these years and acted increasingly as an intellectual centre for libertarian and humanist tendencies concerned with pacifism.

## Anarchist Youth

After Domela's death in 1919, Gerhard Rijhders became editor of De Vrije Socialist. Rijhders opted for the Domela-adoration of Free-Socialism. In consequence the paper had little significance in the 20's and 30's, blind to such developments as the rise of Fascism. De Vrije Socialist entangled itself in dubious dogmas. But it is an error to bury the Dutch anarchist movement with Domela as most historians have done. On the contrary, anarchism experienced such a flowering in the 20's as never before. Anarcho-syndicalists, religious anarchists and the anarchist youth were all to give intelligent form to the spiritual heritage of Domela. The most remarkable of these anarchist factions was certainly the youth movement. The "Sociaal Anarchistische Jeugdorganisatie" (Social Anarchist Youth Organization SAJO) of about 1920, grappled not only with the capitalist order but also all "Bonzendoms" or hierarchies in the trade-union movement and in party-socialism. The SAJO, in their own words, wanted "to make rebels against every State, every army, every church, every discipline!" Alarm, the paper of the SAJO circle, edited by Anton Constandse, urged the occupation of the factories and business premises and a system of workers' councils. One of the Young anarchists, Piet Kooijman, with other revolutionaries from the SAJO, made a bomb attack on the house of a member of the court-martial which had passed sentence on Groenendaal. They were caught and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Although no-one had suffered a scratch by the attack it was generally reprobated. Only Alarm understood the motives of the culprits. "They were not so fortunate", wrote the paper, "as to kindle in the mind of the proletariat the understanding that parties and trade-unions are their enemies and that the true revolution is not established by the armed State but in the armed factory. Thus has revolutionary thought arrived at the concept of the proletarian anarchism of the deed. The fiercest and most inflammatory of the anarchist youth were associated with the paper De Moker (The Mallet) 1924-1928. "We", they wrote, "will smash everything, the State and the factories, all the organized society founded on crime and mediocrity. "Their advocacy of sabotage of the capitalist means of production led them to reject wage-labour as alienating and degrading: ("Work is Crime"). They were conspicuous for their distinctive style of life. They regarded cultural interests, music making, drawing, rambles through the countryside and all things concerned with self-expression higly. They were interested in founding communes. They held a low opinion of the Free Socialist and religious-anarchist movements. "It must ring out like a hammer-blow, that we, young men, refuse any longer to rally to the grubby dingy doings of the elders of the movement... You should all know that we are authorityless, Godless, Propertyless and, preferably, workless prods in the society and that we are no devotees of their ethical religious goings on."

## The Anarcho-Syndicalists.

The establishment of the NSV had ended the struggle between bolsheviks in the revolutionary trades-union movement but there was no unanimity within the syndicalist organization. The NSV had inherited from the old NAS the controversy as to whether parliamentary activity must be repudiated, Although the NAS was traditionally anti-parliamentary, they had, all the same, announced themselves as a Syndicalist Party for the elections of 1918. This was on the initiative of the former NAS secretary Harm Kolthek who wanted to take the wind out of Vijhkoop's sails. Because the constitutional revision of 1917 had introduced compulsory voting, together with iniversal suffrage and proportional representation the workers would certainly come to the ballot-box and there, so Kolthek argued, they must be given the chance to vote Syndicalist. Kolthek pleaded in vain that instead of himself, Domela should stand. This is not surprising since Kolthek's "Socialistische Partij" explicitly denounced anarchism "where it stood in the way of a strongly organized workers movement". Nevertheless the SP gained votes enough for a seat. The irony of Kolthek's political adventure however was that,as a political 'lone wolf', he was constrained to form a "revolutionary front" in parliament with... Vijhikoop.

Awareness of affinity with the NAS caused the executive of the NSV, in the end, to consider whether the rupture of 1923 should be healed. This suggestion met great opposition from the anarchist within the NSV. They fought for an uncompromisingly outspoken anti-parliamentary and anti-bolshevik union organisation based on anarcho-syndicalism as Arthur Lehning described it. Lehning, in Berlin, had made acquaintance with anarchists expelled from Russia. He had been convinced by them that anarchism as a movement would go under if it had no roots in the day-to day struggle of the workers. Lehning urged that anarchism and syndicalism must merge: "Only the workers' economic organizations can lay the basis for the anarchist society. Syndicalist practice thereby becomes anarchist theory in action".

The anarcho-syndicalist view triumphed, but what the NSV gained in doctrinal clarity, it lost in influence. Notwithstanding their fighting spirit and outstanding publications De Syndicalist under the editorship of Albert de Jong and "Grondslagen"(Foundations) under that of Arthur Lehning, membership fell back to a few thousand in the thirties.

## The Alarmists

There were also anarchists with another opinion of the revolutionary significance of the working class, notably Piet Kooijman who found humself unemployed after serving his sentence and forced to do "relief work". He came to consider that the propeling force in society was no longer the working-class but the growing technological productive power. Workers were thrown into the streets by the million while trains overflowed with excess grain. According to Kooijman, that showed that technology had alienated work from food. As a dialectical thinker he rejected the class struggle as having become meaningless. "Historical materialism", wrote

Kooijman in 1935 "is charlatanism". Indeed the consequence of the dialectic is that the working class will desappear simultaneously with capitalism and so it is impossible that it should rule the earth tomorrow. The future belongs to the declasse, he who has fallen out of the processes of production and so, too, from his class. "Take and eat" must,he foretold, become the watchword of the declasse.

In the revived periodical Alarm and in manifestoes spread by the Alliance of Alarm Groups he called upon workers to sack the shops and warehouses. Kooijman went to jail again, this time for ten months. It was in the nature of the man to practise what he preached. With a few kindred spirits he put "take and eat" into practice in the centre of the Hague. Kooijman denied that there was any question of a real economic crisis. On the contrary, the relative shortage was only artificially kept in being by the State. A relative shortage could be turned into a potential overflow by the growing technical productivity. There was no need for poverty. Only the declasses, the workless reinforced by the pauperized middle class standing outside production, were the revolutionary element leading to the end of artificial "shortages". They are, according to Kooijman, the leverage to a society of free consumption. "Alarmism" based upon the so-called lumpenproletariat was generally rejected by the anarchist movement. Kooijmans' declasse theory seemed a lop-sided view and sank into oblivian, to be re-discovered in the 60's.

## Sex and Education

The anarchists have always seen themselves as educators of the people so it is not accidental that they have constantly concerned themselves with systems of free education and the nurture of children, not to forget the relations between men and women. Most anarchists rejected traditional marriage: it was an instrument of oppression sanctioned by the State. They, therefore, proselytized for so-called "free marriage". The anarchist Ge Nabrink was active in the Nieuw Malthusiaanse Bond (New Malthusian League), from which the NUSH would emerge in 1946. Constandes welcomed the theories of the psychologist Wilhelm Reich, who demonstrated in the 30's the influence of a free development of sexuality.

In the area of pedagogy Kees Boeke especially played an innovatory role. Boeke had come to know the Quakers in England- a religious society whose ideas and mentality influenced him deeply. In 1918, deported for his pacifist activities, he returned to the Netherlands. With his wife Betty, a daughter of the wealthy quaker Cadberry, he settled in Bilthoven where their house became a centre for non-violent anti-militarism. Meantime, through his contacts with the BRAC, Boeke was evolving towards anarchism although his world-view remained more coloured by religion than that of even the most ethical and pacifistic anarchists. Boeke saw reality as a meeting place of individual and community in which only consultation and cooperation could lead to a "rational order". He urged a non-violent community democracy which he called sociocracy. Within small groups, he thought, one should be able to come to agreement without the

coercion of the majority. As a principled opponent of the State, Boeke refused to pay taxes. One of consequences was that he was forced to withdraw his daughters from school. The Boekes had kept away from the income accruing from the Cadberry capital, but it could now be made available as a fund for the education of their children. In 1926, they decided to set up their own school. In this Werkplaats Kindergemeenschap (Children's Community Workshop) Boeke put his idealistic theories of sociocracy into practice. His school, where children were not only nurtured in self-directed activity but also learned "to live together" gained international fame.

## War and Cold War

The relative florescence of the anarchist movement during the economic boom of the 20's was checked in the 30's. The anarchists had no clear answer to the capitalist crisis or to the growth of fascism and so their influence and significance have diminished. An attepmt to unite all the libertarian organizations and groups miscarried because of "personal squabbles, empty boasts and a pacifism that played into the hands of fascism", as the executive of the Federation of Anarchists in the Netherlands described it in 1938. This lack of an understanding of reality was the reason that Constandse and others, frustrated, left the anarchist movement.

At the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, where anarcho-syndicalists defended themselves by force of arms against the fascists, the problem of violence could no longer be evaded. The anarcho-pacifists tended ever more to non-violence which quickly led to a decisive conflict in the IAMV. The pacifists around such journals as De Wapens Neder (Weapons down) organ of the IAMV and Bevrijding refused to support the armed struggle against Franco. The other anti-militarists, especially the NSV, while in solidarity with the Spanish anarchists, repudiated the terror of violence and arms. De Syndicalist bitterly observed: "Their dominant feeling was not so much sympathy with the struggle in Spain but on the contrary, a fear of being compromised by the struggle." This dissention prevented anarchism as a political movement from playing an important part in the underground resistance of 1940 - 45. It is true that the best -known anarchists were in exile, imprisoned or otherwise out of circulation. Lehning was in England, Constandse spent the war years imprisoned in a camp and many, like Albert de Jong, went into hiding. Nontheless, ideological and organizational division remained a serious blockage. The anarchists missed the possibilities to form a vast organisation, as the Communists did, in the resistance. Underground activities were limited to loosely connected groups and individuals.

Just after the war, many anarchists succumed to the spirit of innovation and unity then general in leftist circles, which left no space for a separate syndicalist organisation. Meanwhile a radical mass organisation, the Eenheiosvak centrale (EVC) had come into being. The anarchists decided not to revive the NSV disbanded in May 1940. Some anarcho-syndicalists joined the EVC where they were easily overwhelmed by

the Communists. In 1948 came the final break between Communists on one side and Trotskyists and syndicalists, on the other. The latter organized themselves as the onafhankelijk verbond van beorijfs organisaties (OVB)(The Independent Union of Industrial Organisations). The anarcho-syndicalists hopes that the OVB would take on an explicitly syndicalist form were dashed so they decided to use the remaining funds of the NSV to publish an information bulletin, the Anarcho-Syndicalistische Persdenst (ASP)(Press Service). The same funds subsidised the paper Socialism van Onderop (Socialism from below). The original syndicalist paper was taken over by the "Nederlandse Bond Van Vrije Socialisten" which had united the pacifist-anarchists. It was later continued as "Recht Voor Allen"(Justice for All). Anarcho-pacifism, isolated from the workers movement, got bogged down in impotent sectarianism. The Free-Socialist group also declined in importance after the war. The standard of the Vrije Socialist continuously deteriorated and, to make matters worse, after Rijnder's death in 1951, it came out that he had high -handedly taken it upon himself to sell the paper to a printing firm. An amalgamation of the two anarchist groups came to nothing - their differences could not be bridged, and the Vrije Socialist slowly bled to death.

## The Anarchist Renaissance

But just as it seemed that finally anarchism must be laid in its grave, a new interest in the nature of its criticism of the State, leaders and authorities awakened. The English historian, Woodcock, likens anarchism to a stream desappearing underground only suddenly to re-appear. And so it was in the Netherlands where anarchism was reincarnated as Provo. In the early sixties fear of nuclear war shook the political lethargy of the left. The peace movement replaced the workers movement, lost to reformism. But protests against atomic weapons, in the turn, soon deteriorated into impotent ritual processions which met with increasing opposition from the young. Inspired by the English Committee of the Hundred and the anarchist sympathiser and philosopher Bertrand Russell, there arose the "ban the bomb" movement, a loose alliance of local groups using non-violent 'sitdowns' and other strategies of direct action. The 'ban the bomb" was taken up by two anarchist periodicals which had appeared since 1961: "Buiten de Perken" (Beyond the Pale, and De Vrije"(the Free). The first, emanating from ASP and edited by Albert and Rudolf de Jong diagnosed that the anarchist and syndicalist movements had very little chance against the modern welfare state. "To the question:'What can we do?' - we have no ready-made answer. But we believe we may discover some solution in the process of striving for a world without authority and without belief in authority." The realistic perspectives of "Buiten de Perken" met with some success. It became an outstanding mon-conformist paper, notable for its interest in events outside Europe. "De Vrije" (a continuation of De Vrije Socialist, founded by F. D. Nieuwenhuis) was at first the work of one man, the carpenter Wim de Lobel. The paper gave space to Piet Kooijman to publish anew his declasse theory, carried ar-

ticles on Marcuse before he was generally known and news of the anti-bomb movement which it foretold would lead to a revival of anarchism. Meanwhile de Lobel had gathered around the paper a few young people from the Ban the Bomb movement. Among them was Roel Van Duyn. They found in anarchism a framework for their opposition to militarism and power politics, but believed they could invent better means of propaganda than those offered by De Vrije.

Van Duyn and others contacted Grootveld, the magician who created so-called "happenings" on the Amsterdam SPUI. This resulted in the setting-up of the anarchist paper Provo. In its first issue Provo declared that the only choice was between desperate opposition or submissive acceptance of going-under. "Provo sees anarchism as the fountainhead of inspiration for resistance. Provo will revitalise anarchism and bring it to the young." The most important element in the renovation of anarchism was the concept of provocation. Provocations, planned with a flair for publicity, were to reveal the true nature of authority. To provoke is to unmask. Put not only the 'regents (or established authorities) but also the "Klootjesvolk" (sheeplike masse). This last term described the working class, tied as "enslaved consumers" to the social system. The non-productive or provotariat is seen as the latest revolutionary class.

Both, "Buiten de Perken" and "De Vrije",were ambivalent towards Provo. Criticism was directed at opposing provotariat to Klootjesvolk which "throws exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, all in a heap" and against the magic quality of the happenings which was judged "a circus". "Our anarchism" , the Provo stated, "is, in economic terms, more moderate and less optimistic than that of the earlier anarchist workers' movement but holds fast to its important principles. Collectivised ownership of property, decentralisation of authority and demilitarisation are our general guide-lines for a new society".

At first Prove certainly lacked an elaborated theory of the nature of the anarchist organisation of society and how it could be realised. These ideas remained fragmentary and sometimes contradictory. Roel van Duyn, while still an editor of De Vrije, wrote that to think and act for oneself was more important than parroting Nieuwenhuis and de Ligt. However Provo amalgamated Piet Kootjman's theory of the provotarian declasse, the virtual absence of organisational cohesion characterising the Free Socialists, the sub-cultural qualities of the Moker Youth and christian anarchist mysticism. Provo could be viewed as an historical synthesis of past strands of anarchist thought. Provo stands rooted in the past but its style of expression is entirely original and offers alternatives. (known as White Plans) to the rampant growth of bureaucracy and technocracy in the modern welfare state.

Hans Ramaer (translated from the Dutch)

# A Critique of Gramsci's Organic Intellectual

According to Gramsci, every class, every socially "essential group", essential because it springs from "the original ground of an essential function in the world of the economic production", produces in its bosom one or more groups of more or less "organic" intellectuals.

These "organic" intellectuals form a homogeneous body with the class they are an expression of. They also represent in social (and politico-economic sense) "specialized" functions brought to the historical stage by the social group which have created them. Gramsci tries to prove that "autonomous" intellectuals, that is, intellectuals neutral in relation to real class conflicts do not exist. Gramsci, in his polemic against methaphysical idealism, upheld this view. It is to be noted that the polemic against the bourgeois intellectuals was formulated for contingent purposes. For these purposes Gramsci extends the meaning of "organic" intellectual to mean: an organic intellectual who is not tied to a power structure and who is not simultaneously a "leader" - a "specialized politician", a vehicle of power, a faithful counsellor to the "new Prince" - the party-State, does not exist, because the "true" intellectual combines in himself the "technical science" with historical humanistic conceptions.

Not all social classes and groups, continues Gramsci, produce organic intellectuals, as is the case with the peasants, They are tied to a feudal mode of production and, therefore, lack those characteristics of "homogeneity" and of class self-consciousness, so indispensible to the building of the Proletarian State. Far from creating their organic intellectuals, the peasants are influenced by "traditional" petty bourgeois intellectuals, the binding force between the peasant masses and the bourgeois State administration. Somehow, the role of the industrial proletariat is different, The proletariat finds itself in favourable historical-productive conditions and as such has the concrete historical and material posibilities to create "organically" its own intellectuals, to form a State and to exercise the "domination" and "hegemony" over the other non-revolutionary classes which are no longer "essential" to the development of the productive forces.

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The direct Leninist influence (with its residues of positivist mechanism and industrial fedeism) on Gramsci is evident in the pages intended to show the avantguardist role of the factory workers in the re-

volutionary socialist process. Gramsci largely paraphrases the Russian socialist: "More the proletariat specializes in the revolutionary jest, more it feels the indispensability of comradeship, it feels to be the cell of an organized body, of an intimately unified and cohesive body... more it feels the necessity of the world to be an unique immense factory organized with the same precision, with the same method, in the same order, which the proletariat verifies as vital to the factory it works. This particular conception of the world makes the factory worker, the proletariat of the big urban industry the champion of communism... the founder of a new State(1)." Here we witness an example of conceptual application, coherent to Marxist historico-dialectical method, to the formulation of a concept which, despite being mostly refuted by the historical practice, is largely abused by the authoritarian communist publicism and by social democratic critique: this is the binomial "more industrialization" equaling "more class conciousness", or "more develpment of productive technique" equaling more revolutionary consciousness" It is the latter dialectical equation which has forced a man like Gramsci, to formulate the thesis, somehow sectarian and "snobish", according to which the Marxist" worker of C.G.L. is more revolutionary than the "anarchist" worker of U.S.I. because the former comes from more revolutionary "avant-guardist" industries of the productive sectors(!). But to deduce pro - letarian self-consciousness, socialist discipline (if it is not to be understood as a blind mechanical obedience to the wishes of a leader and party bureaucracy) from the alienating massive factory organization of labour and to believe in the "pedagogical" function of the authoritarian division of the industrial work in a capitalist regime is one of the most serious blunders that many authoritative exponents of the authoritarian socialism have made (against whom, it is true, the sagacious "Marxists", such as Luxemburg have raised their voices). To conceive socialism from the point of view of a manager of an enterprise means to fall into petty bourgeois logic: it means "Taylorization" of the socialist consciousness.

Let us turn to the organic intellectual. In the final analysis, he is entrusted with the task to give conscious direction to the working class by "educating" the spontaneous element which emerges during the struggle of the workers. It is the union "between spontaneity" and "the conscious direction" -the discipline, which constitutes the foundation of the working class party. According to Gramsci, even in the more spontaneous movements of the inferior classes can be singled out some elements of political direction which remains in anonimity due to the lack of documented historical sources. This gives us the false image, according to which the historical movements are perfectly "spontaneous". For Gramsci, the guiding element is a natural historical and technico-practical necessity of class struggle, while the guarantee of consciousness and class autonomy is innate in the socio-structural organic make-up of the professional politician evolved by this class, that is, in the "homogeneity" of the social group which brings him to power. Hence the discipline re ardin arty

hierarchy (a necessary historico-natural class element) does not annul freedom and the class autonomy if the "origin" of authority is "democratic" or is a "specialized" technical function, meaning, if it is exercised in a "homogeneous" group, otherwise the discipline is arbitrary.

Here, it is interesting to quote Gramsci's theoretical example. To indicate that his thesis does not limit individual freedom Gramsci heavily relies on Jesuit christian philosophy: "It is obvious that the concept of "predestination" characteristic of some christian currents does not annul the Catholic concept of "free will" because the individual accepts willingly the divine desire (as Manzoni puts it in the Pentecoste) which, in fact, he cannot oppose, but with which, at least, he collaborates with all his moral forces. The discipline here does not abolish personality and freedom (2)." The reference to Manzoni, the appologist for bourgeois ideology, is not incidental, because it unites directly the cultural identity of the bourgeois man of letters with the Marxist politician. While they are diametrically opposed in the field of ideologies they, nonetheless, by virtue of this opposition are complementarily connected in their speculative ways by an equivalent historical idealistic-providential concept of mythical-religious nature for the former and of atheo-materialistic nature for the latter. Let us quote Bakunin: "The will of man in front of the divine will is by necessity impotent. What is the result? The result is that to defend the metaphysical and ficticious freedom of man, the free will, the real freedom of man is negated. In front of divine omniscence and omnipresence man is a slave. Once the divine providence destroys the freedom of man there is nothing left but privileges, that is the special rights which divine grace gives to this individual, to this hierarchy, to this dynasty, to this class(3)." Thus the origin of totalitarianism in the East and the West is to be found in the historico-methodological identity of the two (Liberal Catholic and Marxist authoritarian) churches.

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Somehow, we are far from attributing to the two single individuals Manzoni and Gramsci: to the former, a conscious purpose or a direct responsibility for the horrors committed by the rise of capitalism and, to the latter, the techno-bureaucratic evolution of Soviet socialism, We rather acknowledge to Gramsci the intellectual honesty with which he had undertaken to analyse a not very clear point in the Marxist thought: the function of the intellectual and his historical-political place, that is, the relation of the intellectual to the inferior classes, his class role. The organic intellectual, the central concept in the Granscian-Marxist thought, represents a theoretical-practical inference (inferred by a lucid application of the "orthodox" historico-dialectical method to the problems of the State, class autonomy and the revolutionary programme) "coherent to" the management of the revolutionary socialist process. This is one of the most serious attempts by a Marxist to supercede Leninist Jacobinism which, certainly, had not challenged but rather affirmed at theoretical level (and what is more important, at practical level) the leading role of

the Russian intellectual petty bourgeoisie, of which Leninism was an ideological expression; and the leading role of the social-democratic "intelligentsia", unique holder of the "correct" scientific method in relation to the vast city and rural proletariat, the real author of the revolution. "I am a Jacobin tied to the workers movement" this was how Lenin used to define his leading role as a petty bourgeois intellectual. But if with the case of the organic intellectual, Gramsci, more than his master Lenin, (who directly or indirectly influenced his thought) is preoccupied with assuring to the working class the autonomous management of the revolution, his attempt, nonetheless, is hindered by the same methodological instrumentality, the Marxist historical dialectical materialism, which has lead him to the formulation of the concept of the organic intellectual.

The Marxist historical dialectical thought springs from the overturning of the Hegelian subject-object relation and thus achieving, in the domain of philosophical thought, a "new Copernican revolution": the object becomes primary in thinking and the dialectic from idealistic (which it was with Hegel) becomes materialistic. So if, in Hegel, history has been a concentric dialectical development of the transc endental subject, in Marx history is the development of matter objectivised in the productive forces, To elaborate this logical passage (which put him in opposition to the traditional idealistic philosophy) Marx utilises essentially all Hegelian logical categories which,once inserted in the new philosophy of praxis, are "overturned"also as a sky's image reflected in a mirror of water. This is the organic vice of the Marxist Philosophy which fails back inevitably (pro and con) on Hegelian speculation. If the productive forces are the "essence" of history their development is the key to progress and therefore the social classes are assessed either as "reactionary" or "revolutionary" in the accordance with hindering or favouring economic development. If the bourgeoisie no longer is able to advance progress, it is up to the proletariat (which the bourgeoisie itself has produced as its antithesis) to accomplish this historical function which the capitalist class is not able to do any longer.

Here a Hegelian concept is used: the dialectic "slave-master". In the first phase, the proletariat "the slave of the master", working for the latter, becomes its opposition. In the second phase he becomes "the master of the master" and thus it will work for "itself". Given the "low" status the proletariat occupies in the social scale, its coming to power coincides with the desappearance of the classes. Since the capitalist mode of production consists of the private appropriation of wage labour of the plus-value (the essence of exploitation), then to achieve the emancipation of the working class, it will be sufficient to abolish the private property of the means of work. The proletariat or better again the working class, as Marx put it, is moulded after the image of and the similarity to the bourgeoisie because of the identity of the logic that moves them: the development of the productive system. Since the bourgeoisie, to defend its class interests, is organized in the State it follows that the working class has to do the same: it has to conquer the political power. To capture

power and to make it function the intellectuals need to play the leading role. Since the bourgeoisie has formed its own intellectuals, the proletariat has to do the same through its historical Party. The State is merely a super structure where classes defend themselves. If the bourgeois State defends the interests of the bourgeoisie, the proletarian State will defend the interests of the proletariat. Under the direction of the proletarian State, the productive forces will be developed and will, when the time is mature, bring about communism which is anarchism, the absence of Government. Exactly at that precise moment history will end because there will be no economic contradictions any longer. Miracles of the Dialectical "Science".

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What the worker has to do while waiting for the realisation of the revolution? He has to obey leaders and to work hard in the hope that the happy event will come when, free from material necessities and social oppression, he will finally be liberated. This is a mythical concept as found in many religious theories on the origin of the universe. It is cosmology rather than a scientific "concept" as it purports to be, only for the enjoyment of fools. Productive forces which operate for the "good" and a science which incorporated in them is by itself progressive are concepts equivalent to the Manzonian-Christian Providence which, in some ways, always help the bourgeoisie: the economic "miracle"(so called) of the 50's has given the Providence as a present to the Italian bourgeoisie, naturally with the help of someone, a man or a party, who believed evidently to be in the Providence himself.

Does all this imply that Gramsci was an uncautious thinker unaware of the innate danger of such a deterministic concept of the class struggle as it was expressed in the writings of Marx and Engels? Certainly not. On the contrary, Gramsci looked at the problem and opposed the mechanical element as it had appeared in the Marx-Engels' thinking, accepting it, only as an ideological "flavour" of that philosophy (to use his words) necessary, to a certain degree for the vulgarization of Marxism itself. If Gramsci"s interpretation tends to solve or, at least, put in different perspectives certain extreme dialectical schemes in some aspects of Marxist thinking, it leaves(to our mode of looking at things) unsolved many fundamental problems brought about by the historical praxis of the modern international workers' movement, problems anticipated a century or so ago by anarchists, it is to be said, nore "scientifically" than Marxism itself. We affirm this not because after the death of Gramsci all the "mistakes" of the Russian and the Chinese socialism have come out, not because of the evolution, in a reformist and a bourgeois sense, of the Italian and the Western communist and socialist parties, but because Gramsci has never made a substantial step forward, in respect to Marx, on the problem of the State, but limited himself to the development, in a new historical context , of what has already been implicitly stated in the writings of Marx and Engels.

But, let us go back to the organic intellectual. The proletarian "organic" intellectual exists only in the realm of Platonic theory. It is a metaphysical entity, an abstract conceptual extrapolation, that is, inferred from the Hegelian-Marxist principle of Identity: the identity of the thesis and the anti-thesis, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, homogeneous and heterogeneous, totality and individuality, State and Society, oppression and liberation, centralism and democracy, Power and Revolution. The Cramscian intellectual is not organic in relation to the proletariat, because it is not in reality "homogeneous" with this inferior class. If it is fair to talk of "being organic", it is "organic" in relation to Power (Gramsci admits this).

Power is not an abstract moral entity; it is not a mere hierarchical "functionality", it is not "per se" a neutral apparatus in respect to the historical subject who operates it. On the contrary, power is the permanent structural connection (because historically it reproduces itself) of the hierarchical organisation of social work, which is the division between the directive-intellectual and manual executive works, between science and human consciousness, between politics and morality, between means and ends. The intellectual in Power is a function to himself, he is the aristocracy and the technocratic class. The State is the last and the most important supporter of alienation. Because orthodox and heterodox Marxists have not understood this they have been both theoretically and practically limited.

The irreconciliation between Power and the class autonomy of the proletariat, between the state apparatus and the proletarian social self-management, between the classes which manage the power and the classes which are subjected to it, was a topic present in the thought of Bakunin who wrote: "Marx wants this kind of antagonism which makes impossible any participation of the masses in the political action of the State? This action is impracticable outside of the bourgeoisie. It is possible to be developed only in aggreement with some factions of this class and to be directed by the bourgeoisie itself. (4)" If Marxism, at economic level, was influenced by the bourgeois economists Ricardo and Smith, at the level of the theory of the State it is rooted firmly in the Hegelian "etatist" idealism and the contractual theories of the bourgeois liberal schools, especially Rouseau. In fact Marxism uses similar abstract conceptual elements: "the general will", "popular sovereignty", "government by majority", "People's State", which (what an irony of history) have been utilised by the governments anytime when they have to launch liberticide measures under the pretext of public security. In State and Anarchy Bakunin writes: "The Marxist theory solves this dilemma very simply. By the people's rule they mean the rule of a small nomber of representatives elected by the people. The general and every man's right to elect the representatives of the people and the rulers of the State, is the last word of the Marxists, as well as of the democrats. This is a lie behind which lurks the despotism of the ruling minority, a lie all the more dangerous in that it appears to express the so-called will of the people (5)."

It might be objected that Marxian thought differs from liberal thought

on the ground that it considers the State as a historical product resulting from the division of society into classes and , therefore, the State is bound to disappear. This is true but, outside of formal enquiry about the origin and the role of the State, it is necessary to emphasize the substantial convergence between Marxism and the bourgeois contractual thought. On the historical function of the State Engels writes: "Since antagonisms, since these classes with conflicting economic interests tend to destroy them - selves and society in a sterile struggle, a force which in appearance is above the society is needed to atenuate the conflict and to maintain it within the limits of "order". The force which thus emerges from society, is the State (6)." In Anarchy Malatesta answers: "This is the theory, but if theories are to be valid they must be based on facts and explain them- and one knows only well that in social economy theories are often invented to justify facts, to defend the privilege and to make it palatable to those who are its victims. Throughout history government is either the brutal, violent, arbitrary domination of the few over the many or it is an organized instrument to ensure that domination and privilege will be in the hands of those who by force, cunning or inheritance have acquired all the means of life; first and foremost the land, which they use to enslave and to make people work for their benefit (7)."

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From these two modes of interpreting the function of the State, derive the differences in strategy and political action of the two movements: Marxism-Leninism and Anarchism. The former is inclined towards a transaction with the petty bourgeois politics, a compomise with the bourgeoisie and to utilize the state and its reforms; while the latter is towards the revolutionary transformation of society, outside any bourgeois alliance and authoritarian blackmailing, and to a radical change of the method of politics. Hence, on the problem of the State, the majority of the contemporary Marxists have a contemplative attitude, not to mention the real reactionary position of some who do not even ask the question. The problem is not seeing if the State is withering away passively, but at first place to put willingly and in an active and organic mode, the question of its abolition. The historical purpose of modern revolutions and movements of human emancipation, is to remove in a radical and organic manner the representative system, to transform basically the concept of doing politics, to change the traditional role of the intellectual into an anti-technocratic and anti-hierarchical function, to alter methodologies and finalities of science, to experiment with alternative methods of production and accumulation of sources of energy, to put muscular-nervous efforts and intellectual elaboration together at all levels and thus to modify the mode itself of perceiving culture and,therefore, life.

From the demystification of "neutrality" of science and objectivity "per se" of the capitalist and technocratic mode of production; and from the objective observation of the substantial coincidence of the productive systems of today in their final aims, of the essential convergence of

Soviet, American and Chinese imperialisms -it ought to be deduce that it is necessary to mutate in a revolutionary manner, the principle itself of the authoritarian society i. e. the hierarchical division of labour, the process of concentration of decision making and the state-pyramidal organi - zation. It is necessary to redefine the meaning itself of the intellectual and to make precise his role which is, to modify totally within the conceptual-working process his relation in respect to the physical component of work and to insert him in a horizontal and "open" structure, to facilitate the socializing process of knowledge, to restore to the working process the unity of theory and practice, to fight against the concentration of knowledge in the hands of a few, against the progressive alienation of the average citizen from the contents of scientific research, in other words, to create the widest possible collective basis for a complete self-management of the social life by the people.

On this point let us quote from a Marxist theorist Raniero Panzieri, who has developed a whole series of analyses about the role of science. In the Quaderni Rossi he writes: "Faced with capitalist interwoven theory and practice, the prospect of an alternative (workers') use of the machines cannot obviously be based on a pure and simple overthrow of the productive relationships (of the property). These relationships are percieved as a shell which, because at certain stage of the expansion of the productive forces becomes restrictive, will be destined to collapse. The productive relationships are inside the forces of production, which have been moulded by the capital(8)." An assertion like this, undoubtedly aimed at the limits of heterodoxy, contains the point of a radical critique of the hierarchical organization of science and work, which one finds in libertarian currents and anarchist thought. In fact anarchism extends the class struggle not only to the question of juridico-formal control of means of production (a contingent historical aspect of class domination by capitalism in its technical phase) but, extends the boundary of social dispute to include the problem of the actual management of decision making and knowledge in opposition to the progressive concentration of real power in the hands of a few, while,at the same time decreasing the control of what is controllable and comprehensive -features characterizing capitalism in its technological and bureaucratic-technical phase.

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The diaphragm, which sepatates the development of scientific knowledge (more and more complicated and sophisticated) and the capacity of the average man to follow it, widens, The process of specialization and compartmentalization of knowledge considered by Gramsci as an indication of the degree of civilization at which a modern nation arrives, paradoxically becomes an indication of returning to barbarism, in the way in which the averagelevel of culture has decreased in respect to the majority of the people with consequences that the average citizen is no longer able to determine his own life because, he is always subordinated to the coercive authority of the "competent" specialist. On the subject Bakunin

writes: "To judge the progress of the working masses from the point of view of their political and social emancipation, there is not any necessity to compare their intellectual level of this century with their intellectual level of past centuries. What is needed is, starting from a given epoch and having considered then existing differences between the masses and the privileged classes, to consider the extent to which the former has progressed in relation to the latter. Since, if progress in the various epochs is equal, the intellectual distance which separates both will be the same. If the proletariat progress more than the privileged classes the intellectual distance will narrow but, on the contrary, if during the same time the progress of the worker is rather slow in regard to the man of the dominant classes, then the distance will increase and the abyss which had separated them would grow.-the man of privilege would be stronger while the worker would be more dependent and more enslaved from the epoch which had been taken as a reference point (9)."

The problem of workers' emancipation and of proletarian self-management directly involves times and modes of collective re-appropriation of scientific knowledge which is, the means of domination of nature and the ability of management, that is, the means of social domination. It is not a matter of forming a "new purchasing body" but to upset systematically the present day social forms of organization and social management and thus assure to the subordinate classes the actual control of productive and distributive processes and to guarantee to the exploited masses the self-determination of their own history.

The issue is to apply, on a vast scale, free popular experiment, to stimulate the free creativity of the masses, to apply, as Malatesta said: "the experimental system to the art of civilized living", which is anarchist gradualism, anarchism itself. If there is no will and courage to do this, there will not exist true socialism, there will not exist an organic people's culture, and, in the final analysis, there will not be a true and proper organic proletarian intellectual.

Salvo Rabuazzo.
/Trans. from Interrogations #13/

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# MARXISM & LAW

The grim-sounding Critique of Law Editorial Collective has put out a fat booklet of 136 pages containing a Marxist analysis of law. The anonymous contributors, all of whom seem to teach, study or practise law, avoid the trap into which so many laymen fall. They do not equate law with criminal law, and they run through a fairly long list of topics from answer to basic questions about Marxism to a criticism of the College of Law at North Sydney where law graduates are prepared for entry to legal practice Also their Marxist line of thought saves them from a weakness which afflicts so much professional teaching and writing abour law. They do not ignore all else for the sake of the law currently in force. Yet in spite of these advantages the treatment is too narrow and too old-fashioned to convince a sceptical reader that a Marxist approach has much to offer.

To start with the Collective ignores the communist countries altogether except for occasional appeals to such figures from early Soviet history as Lenin and Pashukanis, Whatever may have been possible sixty years ago, it should be impossible today for anyone to argue, as Balbus did anachronistically in 1977, that the fundamental issue is the relationship between law and the capitalist economic system. The Collective takes a favourable view of Balbus despite his limited outlook which prevents him from seeing that the relationship between law and capitalist economy is no more fundamental for a present-day Marxist than the relationship between law and socialist economy. Each is a particular instance of the relation between economics and law, and it is to this more general question that a Marxist critique should be addressed.

Matters are made worse by another self-fitted blinker. The Collective analyzes the law of some English-speaking countries only (England), Australia, the United States) and it ignores foreign theoretical studies unless they have been translated. This is the tradition not of Marx but of Thwacham, for whom religion meant Christianity and Christianity meant the Church of England.

The effect of narrowing the field like this is to prevent any thorough examination of law 's relationship to economics as required by the theory. Unless attention is paid to "contract" and "tort" and so on in socialist as well as capitalist countries and in capitalist countries to which English law is foreign as well as capitalist countries in which English law is at home, then it will be futile to expect to establish regularities in legal history. But to follow Marx and Engels one must go further still and

ransack, as they did, our records of societies which have never been industrialized. The men of a hundred years ago knew far less about those societies than we know today. The theory of economic determinism loses force if the language of English or some other "capitalist" jurisprudence can be applied across the board to the law of societies which have either left capitalism behind or have never known it. This test of the validity of Marxism does not work in reverse, however, because the inapplicability of a "capitalist" jurisprudence to non-capitalist societies would prove nothing unless it could be shown to result from differences in the economic base.

It is only fair to add that the Collective might be unhappy at the suggestion of economic determinism. But if there is more to Marxism than irrational dislike of capitalism, reflex rejection of anything bourgeois and snobbish condemnation of vulgarity, then what is it? Apparently it consists in a certain theoretical perspective conveyed in some texts by Marx and Engels. Unfortunately the Collective has neither considered the bearing which more than sixty years of socialism might have on these hoary points of view nor given the original texts the critical examination called for by their obscurity of style. Had the Collective taken these steps it would have seen that the texts are neither consistent nor compelling.

First on stage is Marx to give once more his excerpt from the Critique of Political Economy. Yes, it is the one about the legal and political superstructure arising on a real foundation. Now even if you are in tune with the thought that law cannot be understood by itself or as part of the human mind's general development, you are not committed to think that the law of a society is based on the economic structure of that society, yet Marx puts this view forward as though it were the only other possibility. The excerpt ends with the line about social existence determining the consciousness of men. For present purposes this may be taken as a way of saying that a lawyer's or layman's awareness of, say, "tort" or "admissible evidence" is one of the effects of his social existence.

The Collective, fearing that a note of economic determinism will be detected in this passage, hastens to provide "the perfect answer" in the form of a letter which Engels wrote to Conrad Schmidt. But before checking to see whether Engels got the answer right, we should try to get clear what the question was.

The general question is whether a concept or institution such as law exists in isolation or is related to something outside itself. Marx thought that the second was the correct answer. The question then comes up of what it is to which law is related and the nature of their relationship. The answer to the first part of the question is that law is related to the economic structure of society (why not to everything in society?), and the answer to the second part is that law depends in some way on that to . which it is related. As to the manner in which it is dependent, several possibilities are canvassed without discussion of what the relation is

between them: law is built on top of the economy; it is conditioned; it is determined. Perhaps these are not three different hypotheses but only three different formulations of the same hypothesis (which, then, is the definitive formulation?).

The distinction of base and superstructure which Marx, like so many of his followers, makes in his social analyses is actually a metaphor the origin of which is in the building trade. A house, for example, has its foundations on which arise its walls and roof. The walls and roof(superstructure) depend on the foundations (base) in the obvious sense that if the foundations give way so, too, will the rest of the house. But it does not follow that you can predict from the completed foundations what the rest of the house will look like. You would need the plan or blueprint of the whole house before you could know that; now the plan or blueprint is a mental model in accordance with which the foundations as well as the walls and roof are built. This seems to carry us into an idealism to beat all idealisms. And in any case, is it not so that legal and political relations, religion and so forth exist with the economic structure and not after it as the housing analogy requires (foundations come first, walls and roof later)?

It can of course be said that he who talks of base and superstructure is only trying to throw light on the interrelationship of social concepts and institutions and is not suggesting that his analogy can be taken very far. But what literally does he mean by the metaphors in which he speaks? Well, we have been told that there is a perfect answer to be found in Engels. Unfortunately the excerpts which the Collective puts forward are anything but clear and only confuse matters still further.

Engels uses a metaphor, too, but his comes from the science of optics. Economic relations are reflected in the form of legal principles. We ask whether the form of legal principles is the mirror in which the economic relations are reflected or whether the form of legal principles is the reflection which appears in the mirror when the economic relations stand in front. Apparently the latter, because Engels goes on to explain that the jurist's propositions are inversions, presumably of economic relations. But what or where is the mirror which this metaphor requires?

Another point which must have puzzled poor Conrad is that the reflections can influence and modify the economic basis of which they are reflections! This appears to make no sense at all. Why does Engels say it? The answer is probably that it seemed to be called for by another- and quite different - construction he was putting on Marx elsewhere in the same letter. This is an interactionist view according to which the economy influences, but is also influenced by, the other constituents of a society, including its law.

So much for "the perfect answer". All it does is to compound the confusion which existed before Engels gave it. The other 134 pages of the booklet do not resolve these difficulties but merely repeal them.

The Collective can scarcely be blamed for failing to strengthen and straighten out Marxism's shaky foundations. What it can be blamed for is its failure to consider the socialist experience in relation to Marxist legal theory. The closest the Collective comes to this is a sarcastic reference to Friedmann's Le al Theory, some passages from which are included in one of the textbooks on property law likely to be used by Australian law students. Friedmann, the Collective tells us, is guilty, like all other bourgeois legal theorists, of the "straw person" (sic) syndrome, and his book is less than sympathetic to the totality of Marxist theory. But sympathy is beside the point; what is to the point is the fact of socialist reorganization of society and economy under Marxist direction. This has lasted longer in Russia that anywhere else, and it has important implications for Marxist legal theory which, without it, is condemned to remain academic, utopian and apologetic. Ever since socialism was realized in one country, it has been possible to compare superstructures on different real foundations as Marx would have said had he only lived to see it, and his followers today are behaving very oddly when they avert their eyes from achievements in the socialist third.

Friedmann asserts, for example, that the theory of Pashukanis has been condemned in the Soviet Union without a satisfactory substitute being found for it; that Soviet theory has found itself unable to abandon established legal concepts and categories, that a great part of Soviet law as it effects the ordinary man is little different from English, French and American law, though in other parts it closely resembles fascist law; and that the function and purpose of law in the Soviet Union are doubtful and uncertain despite several decades of a socialized economy( see Chapter 20 in the 3rd edition; and, for a more theoretical analysis of Marxist legal theory, see Chapter 16 in Kamenka's The Ethical Foundations of Marxism). Considerations of this kind provide a point from which to start for Marxist writers on law.

In general, Marxist studies of law have the peculiarity of leading away from law to other social forces believed to be determinative of it. The Marxist legal theorist finds himself landed accordingly with all the difficult ies which belong to the social theory he has inherited from Marx and Engels. The respect he is obliged to show for these ancient texts and for the exegetical literature which has grown up around them prevents him from breaking the fetters which enchain his mind, and he is tempted to take refuge in sham resolutions. Thus he evades charges of economic determinism by asserting that superstructures are determined by the economic base "only in the last analysis", but he is no more able than his predecessors to state criteria by which a last analysis might be distinguished from, say, a second-to-last analysis, He is apt to have "interactionist" moments, but these never last long because he is obsessed with capitalism and he itches madly to reduce all questions to questions of property.

Marxist legal theory remains of some interest, however, to anyone who wishes to go beyond expositions and analyses of positive law written from an insider's point of view. More partcularly, in attempting to deal with the rise and role of law and other institutions, Marxism shows undeniable affinities with anarchist theory. This prompts the question whether anarchism has a legal theory which escapes the difficulties to which the Marxist theory is subject. Another article would be needed to answer this, and here it is only possible to comment very briefly.

Anarchist writers have paid little attention to law as such, and most of what they have written has been critical of legal institutions. Anarchism is of course popularly regarded as a "no-law" or "anti-law" school of thought, but Eltzbacher's study of the subject show that this is only partly correct (see his Anarchism: Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy). Since 1900, when Eltzbacher's book was first published there have been the extremely important Russian and Spanish experiences which can be ignored by anarchist theory only if it is content to be as anachronistic as much of Marxism is.

But even if all anarchist thinkers belonged to the no-law or anti-law school, it would not follow that anarchism had no legal theory. To reject a concept or institution presupposes an understanding of its nature and of its relation to other concepts or institutions. The legal theory of no-law or anti-law anarchists would consist, then, in the progressive clarification of this understanding. I suspect that this theory has still to be worked out. As a purely critical theory it would be unable to envisage any anarchist role for law, and it would therefore have quite a lot in common with some Marxist legal theory, especially with Marxist theory up to the time when Pashukanis and his fellow-thinkers fell into disgrace as wreckers and traitors.

Eltzbacher's point is, however, that some anarchist writers have left a place for law in their conception of a future society. Thus Bakunin and Kropotkin envisaged collectives or communes which would be constituted and interrelated after a certain manner, and other writers, notably Proudhon and Tucker (and Armand since Eltzbacher wrote), saw in the notion of contract a basis for anarchist social relations. There is a sense of the word "law" which covers such arrangements, and it is only on a view of law which sees it as proceeding from the State that anarchist constitutional and contractual principles and procedures could be denied the name. But here again anarchist legal theory has scarcely begun. Many of its most obvious points of connection will be with studies of unwritten or customary law.

This second school of thought about law is accordingly more distinct from classical Marxist legal theory than is the no-law or anti-law school, but both would find a testing ground in those times and places at which anarchist movements came to prominence just as classical Marxist theory found its testing ground-for it a Waterloo- in Russia after 1917.

Kenneth Maddock.

# THE ORIGINS OF
# THE MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Principes du Socialisme: Manifesto de la democratie au dix-neuvieme siecle, seconde edition, 1847, Paris, par Victor Considerant.

Manifesto of the Communist Party 1848, by Karl Marx and Frederic Engels.

What must be attacked, are the egoistic chiefs and the blind journals which lead and exploit parties, striving to retain these within narrow and exclusive ideas and in a state of hostility, the better to dominate them - V. Considerant.

I

The above mentioned proceedings are strange, but Marx's and Engels's conduct toward the great French Fourierist, Victor Considerant, is more astonishing.

In the second chapter we saw that all fundamental Socialist ideas were attributed by Social Democrats, especially by Engels, to Marx and Engels himself. Their German readers were honestly convinced of it, simply because they did not know of the existence of this English and French literature. On the other hand, the Social Democratic chiefs in all countries being engaged in parliamentary intrigues, they are quite content to have nothing to read but two or three pamphlets of Engels and some popular exposition of Capital, this enabling them to pose before the workers as the true and only representatives of modern science. All was going well, and the glory of Marx as the founder of a social science entirely his own, was spreading thruout the world. Thus it came about that every revolutionary Communist who based his arguments upon the real science of humanity, was immediately dubbed an ignorant bourgeois, and even often treated as an agent provocateur. For, said they, outside Marxism neither science nor Socialism exists; all that contemporary Socialism teaches has been formulated and explained by Marx and Engels, and especially in their famous "Manifesto of the Communist Party."

* This text consists of chapter X from W. Tcherkesoff's Pages of Socialist History. It is the basis of the famous anarchist accusation of plagiarism by Marx and Engels. It was referred to in the article Marx and Anarchism by R. Rocker in Red and Black #8 (see footnote 1). We intend to present in future issues more of Tcherkesoff's writings.

Such was the prejudice, that Kautsky could publish in his journal ("Neue Zeit," Vol. IX, No. 8), and other ignoramuses repeat in Russian, French, and other languages, that this "Manifesto" was a true Bible of Socialism. It is just three years since the fiftieth anniversary of this publication was celebrated in all the European languages. In pompous discourses all the "scientific" deputies glorified the appearance of this "Manifesto", which according to them, marked a new era in the development of science and even of humanity.

Who could contradict them? Did not Engels write to Duhring (1879) that "if Duhring intends to say that the whole economic system of our days is the result of antagonism between the classes, of oppression... then he repeats truths which have become common conclusions since the appearance of the "Communist Manifesto"? No one has the right to doubt it; for it is the "great" Engels himself who states it, and with him the "scientific" deputies, including Guesde, Lafargue, Vandervelde, Ferri, and other savants, who affirm that this new revelation, this new Testament, was given to humanity by Marx in the new Bible of the human race, in the famous "Manifesto of the Communist Party".

Let my readers imagine to themselves the condition of a faithful follower of the prophet in the habit of repeating: "God is great and Mahomet is his prophet" who one fine day discovers on his divan, instead of the sacred Koran, the work of some infidel giaour, wherein all that is most sacred in the book of Mahomet is stated with far greater clearness, precision, largeness of view and depth of thought, but above all with an incomparably superior literary talent; while, altho indignant and humilated, he knows, this stupefied believer, that the work of the infidel giaour appeared before the Koran, and that Mahomet, the great prophet of fatalism, had been aware of it.

Similarly with this believer, I felt myself stupefied, indignant, even humilated, when, about a year ago, I had occasion to read the work of Victor Considerant (1): "Principles of Socialism: Manifesto of the Democracy of the Nineteenth Century", written in 1843, second edition published in 1847. There was reason for it. In a pamphlet of 143 pages, Victor Considerant expounds with his habitual clearness all the bases of Marxism, of this "scientific" Socialism that the parliamentarians desire to impose upon the whole world. Properly speaking, the theoretical part, in which Considerant treats of questions of principle, does not exceed the first fifty pages; the remainder is consecrated to the famous prosecution that the government of Louis Philippe brought against the journal of the Fourierists, "La Democratie pacifique", and which the jurors of the Seine quashed. But in these fifty short pages the famous Fourierist, like a true master, gives us so many profound, clear, and brilliant generalizations, that even an infinitesimal portion of his ideas contains in entirety all the Marxian laws and theories- including the famous concentration of capital and the whole of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." So that the whole theoretical part, that is chapters one and two, which Engels him-

self says "are on the whole as correct today as ever", is simply borrowed. This "Manifesto," this Bible of legal revolutionary democracy, is a very mediocre paraphrase of numerous passages of the "Manifesto" of Victor Considerant. Not only have Marx and Engels found the contents of their "Manifesto" in the "Manifesto" of V. Considerant, but the form and the titles of the chapters have also been retained by the imitators.

Paragraph 2 in the second chapter (p. 19) with V. Considerant bears the title: "The Present Situation and '89'; the Bourgeoisie and the Proletarians."

"The Bourgeois and the Proletarians", is the title of the forst chapter with Marx and Engels.

V. Considerant examines different Socialist and revolutionary parties under the name of Democracy (the Fourierists are called pacific Democrats) and his paragraphs bear the titles:

"Stagnant Democracy" (p35).
"Retrograde Democracy" (p. 41).
"The Socialist Party in the Retrograde Democracy" (p. 44).

The titles with Marx and Engels are:

"Reactionary Socialism"(p. 25).
"Conservative and Bourgeois Socialism"(p. 31).
"Critical Utopian Socialism and Communism" (p. 31).

Would not one think all these titles belonged to the selfsame work? When comparing the contents we shall see that in reality these two manifestoes are identical.

Before commencing the comparison of the texts, we must enlighten the reader with regard to the fidelity of Engels to history. At the com - mencement of their "Manifesto", Marx and Engels declare that "already (in 1848) Communism is recognized as a power by all the powers of Europe" (p. 1).

At the Congress of Zurich in 1893, this same Engels said "at this moment (1843-45) Socialism was only represented by small sects..." The small sects or the power? Who is right here -Marx and Engels or Engels alone?

## II

In order to proceed with our contention, it is sufficient to follow from the beginning of the text of Marx and Engels's "Manifesto" without any alteration, and to quote the passages from Victor Considerant's "Manifesto" upon the same subject. I regret that the quotations from the latter cannot be longer; for Victor Considerant is really a brilliant exponent.

1. Marx and Engels, p. 8 (2), -"In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank."

Victor Considerant, p. 1. "The societies of antiquity had as principle

and law Force: as politics War; as aim Conquest; and as an economic system Slavery; that is to say, exploitation of man by man in its most complete, most inhuman, most barbarious form... Slavery was the basis.. slavery and the spirit of caste. Such was the character of the antique social order."

2. M. and E., p. 8. "...in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations".

V. C. p. 1.:"The feudal system was the result of conquest... Its predominant occupation was still war, and especially the traditional and permanent consecration of primitive privileges from the conquest. It has as an economic system an exploitation of man by man already a degree less hard and brutal - Serfdom."

3. M. and E., p. 8.:"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not dome away with class antagonisms."

V. C. p. 2 : "The new society has sprouted from feudal society by development of industry, science, labor"..."Notwithstanding the metaphysical liberalism, notwithstanding constitutional equality before the law ... the actual social order is only an aristocratic order, no longer by principle and law, it is true, but in practice"(p. 5). "The classes are perpetuated by birth in their relatively inferior and superior condition... only it is no longer law, right, political principle, which place those barriers between the great categories of the French people; it is the economic organization, the social organization itself"(p. 6).

The words, "economic, social organization," were italicized by V. Considerant because the last passage, like many others, shows that the Socialists of the period understood better than the "scientific" ones of our days the role which economic factors play in social development.

4. M. and E., p. 8: "It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones."

Against this passage, without any indication of the historical and social facts, I should quote the whole of Chapter V, where V. Considerant expounds so clearly this social evolution, under the title "Rapid Development of a New Feudality -Collective Serfdom of the Workers." , but the article would become too long. So I only quote a few passages.

V. C. pp. 6, 7, 8: "A phenomenon of the greatest importance manifested itself quite clearly today; it is the rapid and powerful development of a new feudality; of an industrial and financial feudality which regularly supersedes the aristocracy of society by annihilation or impoverishment of the intermediate classes ... There could result from this nothing but general slavery, collective subjugation of the masses -destitute of capital, tools, education... Absolute liberty without organization is nothing but complete surrender of the disarmed and despoiled masses at the mercy of their armed opponents fully supplied. Civilization, which began by aristocratic feudality, and whose development has liberated the industrial classes from personal or direct servitude, now ends in industrial feuda-

lity which works out the collective or indirect servitude of the workers."

5. M. and E., p. 8 :"Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

V. C., p. 10. -"The title of Chapter X: "Division of society into two classes: a few possessing all; the great majority deprived of all."

V. C. p. 6. -"...On this large social battlefield some are instructed, trained to fight, equipped, armed to the teeth... and the others-robbed, naked, ignorant, starved - are obliged to implore for work and low wages from their enemies."

V. C., p. 26. -"Industrial war has, like military war, its conquerors and its conquered. Industrial feudality constitutes itself, like military feudality, by the fatal triumph and the permanent supremacy of the strong over the weak. The Proletariat is the modern serfdom."

6. M. and E. p. 8. - "The manufacturing system took its place. The guild masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class..."

V. C. p. 4. -"It (the Revolution) has destroyed the guild masters, the mastership, the old corporations..." "After the great explosion of '89, after the destruction of the old political system, after the annihilation of the feudal property, of the industrial system of mastership and guild masters..."(pp. 6-7). "It has destroyed the mastership, the guild masters, the corporations, the system of feudal property; it has despoiled the nobility and the clergy, but it has not created any institution... It has de - livered the whole industrial and social workshop to Anarchy (3) and to the domination of the strong: misery, corruption, fraud, vices, and crimes are ravaging and increasing. " (p. 30).

Here we see the origin of the first page of the famous Manifesto Bible of Social Democracy, of this pretended scientific revelation! As one sees, "the ignorant utopians" knew a little more and, especially, described the formation of classes in our capitalist society a great deal better than these mediocre copyists.

But let us continue our unattractive task. Let us see what Marx and Engels say in the other pages of their own descoveries upon this same subject of the classes.

7. M. and E., p. 8. - "Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manifacture was taken by the giant Modern Industry; the place of the industrial middle class by industrial mil - lionaires."

V. C. p. 9. -"In whatever brach it may be the great capitals, the great enterprises, are law to the small ones. Steam, nachinery, the large factories have easily triumphed, wherever they appeared, over small and middle-sized workshops. At their approach the old handicrafts and artisans have disappeared, to leave nothing but factories and proletarians."

Let us continue this quotation from Considerant, who expounds so admirably what the plagiarists so shamefully mutilated.

"Besides, we continually see unexpected discoveries springing up, which, suddenly renewing a whole branch of production, carry disturbance into the workshops. After having broken the arms of the workers, thrown on the streets masses of men - at once replaced by machines - these discoveries crush the masters in their turn..."(pp9-10).

8. M. and E., p. 9. -"The bourgeosie wherever it has got the upper hand has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idylic relation... It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom: free trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by political and religious illusions, it has substituted maked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation."

V.C. pp.4-5. - "It has destroyed the last remains of the feudal system" (p. 7). "After the annihilation of feudal property... and the proclamation of industrial and commercial liberty... (p. 7) the result is that notwithstanding the metaphysical Liberalism of the new law... notwithstanding the constitutional equality of citizens before law... (p. 5) the actual social system is as yet nothing but an aristocratic system; on the industrial and social field are only individuals facing each other, with full liberty to act on their own strength... the odious mechanism of free competition without guarantee breaks down all laws of justice and humanity... So free competition... has this inhuman and execrable character; that it everywhere and always depreciates wages."

9. M. and E., p. 11. - "They (fetters of feudality) had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder. Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class."

We will speak afterwards about the political domination of the bourgeoisie, and I ahall quote Chapter IX from Victor Considerant under the title "Infeudation of the Government to the New Aristocracy." If this were not mentioned one would believe the following quotations from Marx and Engels upon free competition to be the continuation of that from V. Considerant on the same subject.

As this article was originally written for French readers, to whom Considerant, as a Socialist author, is better known than to the English, it may be wise to give here only the most striking quotations and mention the pages where the reader who wants to compare the others can find them.

III

M. and E., p9 -"...Cornerstone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself in the modern representative State exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a com-

mittee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

V. C., p. 10. -"Who seizes all positions, all strategic lines, every basis of operations for commerce and industry? Who invades everything, who becomes master of everything, if it is not high speculation and the large capitals?... Would you know how far this fatal feudality is already rooted in the ground and prevailing in the political and social movement? (p. 12) (Quoting from finance, war and diplomasy, V. Considerant concludes:) Is it not evident after these examples, that it is not the king, not the ministers, not the nation who govern, but already the industrial and financial feudality?"

M. and E., p. 8 -V. C., pp. 10 and 11.

M. and E., p. 11 - V. C., p. 26

IV

M, and E., p. 10 - V. C. p. 22

M. and E. p. 10 - V. C., pp. 22 and 23.

V.

In the first part of the article we already compared Marx and Engels with V. Considerant in the following pages:

M. and E., p. 8 - V. C. pp. 9, 10, 11.

Here we give only one striking quotation, which shows clearly where Marx took his law of concentration of capital, which concludes the first volume of his book, "Das Kapital":

M. and E. p. 8. - "... The place of the industrial middle class was taken by industrial millionaires."

V. C. pp. 10-11. - "Capital invades everywhere, the power of the large capitals is incessantly growing; they attract and absorb, in all branches, the smaller fortunes. Society is rapidly advancing to the formation of an aristocracy as oppressive as vile; which already begins to oppress and crush us which lies heavy on the people, and which breaks, subdues and enslaves the middle classes themselves every day... This is a social phenomenon which characterizes modern civilization. It follows step by step the course of the commercial and industrial system with its invasion of machines. This incessantly pumps the national wealth into the reservoirs of the new aristocracy, where it is concentrated and creates legions of famished paupers and proletarians. In Great Britain we see, in the highest degree, this phenomenon of the concentration of capital in the hands of a few aristocrats. France and Belgium, the two countries which follow Great Britain closest in this false industrial development, are also the countries where the new feudality is spreading most rapidly."

VI.

Class struggle, economic crises; the greatest discoveries of Marx and Engels as the Social Democrats tell us. Let us see what their Koran says

on the subject:

M. and E., p. 11. -"For many a decade past, the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and its rule."

Against this passage I could quote many very brilliant statements of V. Considerant. Let us take some of the shortest:

V. C., p. 17-19, p. 18. - "This idea (of revolutionary Communism) which the influence of the rapid development of the Proletariat, of Pauperism, and the new feudality has brought to light in the midst of a society still permeated by the revolutionary spirit, spreads among the workers ... No property! no proprietors! no exploitation of man by man! no heritage ... the earth for all!"

We omit the translation of the following corresponding passages:

M. and E. p. 11 - V. C. p. 15 M. and E. p. 11. -V. C. p. 23
M. and E. p. 12 -V. C. p. 19 M. and E. p. 12. - V. C. p. 8
M. and E. p. 12- V. C. p. 8 M, and E. p. 12. - V. C. p. 23
M. and E. p. 12. - V. C. p. 9 M. and E. p. 13. - V. C. p. 9.
M. and E. p. 13. -V. C. 8-9. M. andE. p. 13. - V. C. p. 10
M. and E. p. 14. -V. C. p. 20 M. and E. p. 14. -V. C. p. 32.
M. and E. p. 16. -V. C. p. 20-24 M. and E. p. 16. - V. C. p. 8.
M. and E. p. 16 - V. C. p. 13.

Just two more quotations:

M. and E., pp. 20-21. -"What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces above all, are its own grave diggers."

V. C. pp. 20-21. - "The large capitals concentrating in aristocratic families and multiplying their power by the system of great shareholding societies, become more and more prevalent. At last the development itself of this prevalence... must necessarily provoke, sooner or later, a revolutionary struggle on social ground. And if a revolution is made, the conquered are driven away and the conquerors take all. Just what the bourgeoisie has done to the old nobility and the clergy. " "The industrial feudality constitutes itself. The proletariat is the modern serfdom. A similar condition, contrary to all rights of humanity, to all contemporary social spirit could not have developed itself without provoking new revolutions, revolutions no longer political, but social, and directed against property itself, with the cry, "To live working or to die fighting; the earth for the workers"!"

M. and E. p. 18. - V. C. p. 45. M. and E. p. 22 - V. C. p. 45.

In his preface to the English edition of the "Communist Manifesto," Engels says that only the theoretical or first chapter of their "Manifesto" still preserves the value: we can openly declare after having read these 39 passages which correspond so strangely with Victor Considerant's manifesto, that in this case the only glory which Marx and Engels can claim is the glory of being faithful pupils who repeated in their mother tongue what they had learned from a master.

It is impossible that Marx was unacquainted with the existence of the manifesto of the eminent Fourierist. The manifesto of Victor Considerant, published in 1843, had its second edition in 1847, justafter the famous trial of the Fourierist paper, "La Democratie Pacifique". This trial made a very great sensation in the world and especially among the Socialists of that period. This second edition was in special demand because it contained a full account of the trial. To suppose that Marx, who in his manifesto speaks of Fourierism and Fourierists - only caluminiating them, it is true - was unacquainted with the trial and the "Manifesto," would be just as illogical as to believe that a writer who participated in the Dreyfus affair knew nothing of Zola and his trial. Even more than this: Marx, being a young metaphysician, arrived in France without any notion of Socialism or of the labor question. Germany, before the revolution of 1848, was partly plunged in purely political Radicalism (Young Germany), partly in the fatal and reactionary metaphysics of Hegel. Marx and Engels have drawn their social education, their knowledge of the economic and social conditions of the working class, from authors like Considerant, Louis Blanc, Buret, Thompson, Grey, and others, who were either Fourierists, Owenists, or Saint-Simonists.

I defy whoever it may be to deny that Marx knew the works of Victor Considerant, and especially his "Manifesto", And neither should it be said that Marx, in this case, would quote from a Socialist author who has, in common with him, such a number of historical, economic, and social ideas; because this could be said only by one who knows nothing about the literary proceedings of Marx. Has Marx ever mentioned that the term surplus has been defined by Simon de Sismondi? Never; yet he knew his works. Or, that William Thompson, whom he quoted against Proudhon, based all his inquiries (1824-29) on the same surplus? Again, no. The same with Adam Smith, from whom he has taken the whole theory of value, changing the word quantity into quantum, etc.; he quotes from him only a secondary passage in order to combat him. But has he recognized him as the creator of this fundamental theory of Socialist revindications? No,never. And, then, how he mutilated the best passages of Stuart Mill; rendering him ridiculous as a bourgeois whose works a good Socialist must not touch, and from whom he nevertheless drew his theory of the tendency of profits to a minimum.

But this is not all.

Why have neither Marx nor his inseparable collaborator, Engels, ever mentioned Louis Blanc, from whom they have copied their doctrine of the role of the State in Communist society? And for what reason does Engels, in his "History of the Development of Scientific Socialism," say not a single word about all the Socialist literature from 1825-32 till 1867 - the year of the publication of "Capital"? From this one might conclude that after St. Simon, Fourier, and Robt. Owen, European humanity did not occupy itself with the social question, and that neither Socialist agitation before the revolution of February 24, 1848, nor this revolution itself, nor the bloody days of June, 1848, had taken place.

I invite you, honest people of all parties, to study attentively the work of these Hegelian twins, and you will see yourselves that the more they borrowed from some Socialist author the less they speak of him.

Especially I appeal to you French and English Socialists, on whom these pretended scientists -whose names you know - endeavor to impose translations of ideas collected from French and English Thinkers. You will find still greater unfairness than this simple plagiarism of the work of V. Considerant.

Emboldened by success in their first plagiarism, they began to appropriate economic and social laws and theories which are given as axioms in text books. Who will believe, for example, that the law of wages, this famous law of the minimum, known a century since, could have been claimed by Engels as a discovery made by him? And yet the fact exists.

In an annotation of a German Translation of the pamphlet "Misery of Philosophy," 1883, Engels says on pages 26-7 word for word as follow: "The law of the minimum wages necessary for the existence of the producers and for the continuation of their race has been stated and proved by Me in "Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationaloekonomie", Paris, 1844." These incredible lines are to be found in the foot notes of that text in which Marx in conformity with political economy treats this law as the law of wages of Ricardo. Because it is he who developped in the beginning of the century the formula of the French economist, Turgot, which Lavalaye, in his schoolbook of economics ("Manuel d'economic politique"), reproduces in the following terms: "It must be, and so it is in reality, that the wages of the workers in all branches are limited to what is necessary for their living."

How could Engels attribute it to himself? By ignorance, or intentionally? It is evident he knew that in political economies this law is recognized as the law of Ricardo; this is quite clear from the same text of Marx. Lassalle also treats it as the "iron law of the ECONOMISTS."

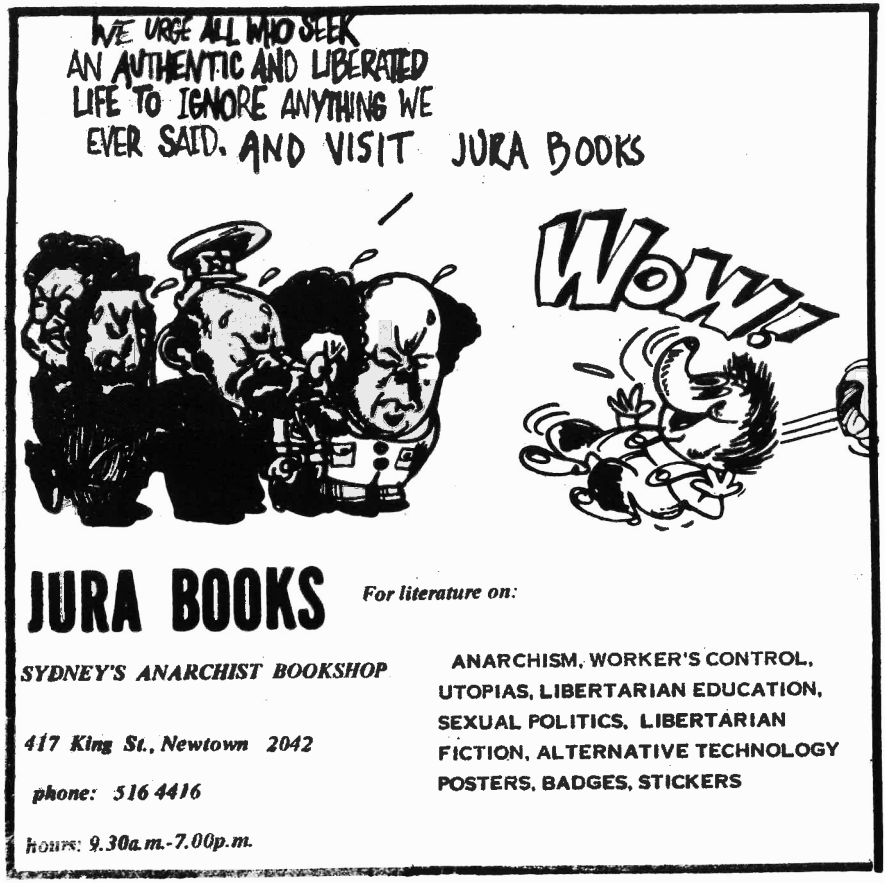
Is it necessary to continue with the list of the appropriations of these founders of Social Democracy, whose "good faith" is glorified by the ignorant? If "Yes", I can quote some more proofs of their "good faith"; for example, their oft-repeated, infamous calumny: that the great revolutionist, Bakunin, was a spy of the czar. But let us end here. I hope that the honest people will understand now why their contemporaries, the men of 1848, who knew the sources of their science, the value of their "good faith", had such a deep contempt for them. Such was this contempt that even the glorifying biographer of Engels is obliged to speak of it. "The Democracy avoided them", says he; it held them in contempt, we add.

And I should not be astonished if the democratic workers of the present will ratify the opinion of the men of 1848.

W. Tcherkesoff.

Notes

1. Victor Considerant, a distinguished engineer and pupil of the famous Polytechnic of Paris, was one of the most prominent political and social reformers before and during the Second Republic. His name was as popular as those of Louis Blanc, Ledru- Rollin, Proudhon, Blanqui and others. Among his numerous works the most famous is "Destinee Sociale", in 3 vols. His "Manifesto" is a short, popular exposition of his general ideas. His influence was far-reaching, and the great Russian martyr and Socialist, Tchernychevsky (whom Marx so much admired), openly recognized the influence Considerant had upon him. He died some years ago at an advanced age, venerated by every enlightened Frenchman.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